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Moreover, the produce of the
flock is sold to persons outside the community. No Sarakatsanos who remains a member of the community acts as a trader or shopkeeper. Indeed, unrelated families are only dependent on one another in two significant ways, for marriage partners and social reputation. In both instances this form of dependence helps to breed hostility and suspicion, which is all the more intense since there are no other forms of social or economic co-operation. Perhaps, too, the dispersed character of the community, and the fact that for most of the time shepherds are bound to the care of their animals, allow attitudes of intense hostility without giving too frequent opportunities for its physical expression.

The hostility that exists between unrelated families is encouraged by the belief that their interests are mutually destructive. There is the story that after he had created the other countries, God had a few stones and rocks left in his sack. He threw these over his shoulder and they became the land of Greece. It is believed that there are not enough resources and wealth to satisfy the needs of everybody, and that therefore the success and prosperity of other families is necessarily a threat to the very existence of one's own. It follows that a man must rejoice when another suffers misfortune and 'falls in the mud' (πέφτει στη λάσπη). For the Sarakatsani, these beliefs have an immediate relevance. If the village President allots one man an area of good summer grass, another must receive an area of indifferent grazing. Again, in the winter, pasture is scarce, and every family that has successfully negotiated for its requirements of winter grass leaves less for the others. Whether it is a question of material assets or social prestige the Sarakatsani see life as a kind of seesaw. If one family goes up in the world the others must necessarily come down.

The hostility between unrelated families is intimately related to the nature of rights and obligations inside the elementary family. These have a diffuse character; that is to say, a man is obliged to support his brothers, sisters, parents, or children in every situation and circumstance unless this assistance conflicts with other and higher obligations. But not only do all a man's significant interests fall within the limits of the family, but in most contexts loyalty to the family is the supreme social value. Moreover, there is no social group in this community

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blame for this loss is generally ascribed by the community to the sensuality of the woman and, by extension, to the moral weakness of her kinsmen.

This kind of shame is a quality that is thought to descend in the female line from mother to daughter, but its loss always implicates the honour of the men of the family, reflecting on the manliness of the husband, and, more generally, on the whole social personality of brothers and, particularly, sons. The woman is soiled, λερωμένη, and blackened, μουντζουρωμένη; and she marks with her dishonour all those who are close to her through kinship or marriage. Essentially, sexual shame is felt to be an inborn moral characteristic, part of a woman's personality. Conventional deportment requires training of course; but however thorough her education the true character of a naturally shameless woman is certain to emerge, for fundamentally sexual shame is a question of heredity. If it becomes known that a young maiden has been struck by her father or brother because of some immodesty, people laugh and ask rhetorically what good do they imagine this will do since the fault proceeds from her mother.

Clearly manliness and shame are complementary qualities in relation to honour. The manliness of the men in any family protects the sexual honour of its women from external insult or outrage. The women must have shame if the manliness of the men is not to be dishonoured. We saw in an earlier chapter how the dishonour of a mother cannot be remedied by the sons. It is true that when a man kills a daughter who has lost her honour he wins the grudging respect of the community; yet, at the same time, the dishonour of the family is never entirely forgotten. Even when the rape of a sister has been avenged, a measure of dishonour remains, the dishonour of the girl's failure to preserve her virginity. The reputation for manliness of the men of the family is a deterrent against external outrage, but it cannot entirely repair the damage if such an attack against its women proves successful. It is, then, not surprising that the worst insult that can be aimed at a man is to use the name of his sister, or mother, in an unpleasant sexual context.

Honour considered as the possession by men and women of these qualities is the attempt to relate existence to certain

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577 archetypal patterns of behaviour. Female values are referred
793 to the ideal conduct of the Mother of God: modesty, virginal
562 attitudes, and selfless love. Male values appear in different
[976] exemplars. Christ is the ideal of continence and selfless sacrifice even of life for those to whom one is committed: the horsed and warlike saints George and Demetrius present the pattern of assertive courage, physical, spiritual, and invulnerable. Nearer to the realities of a shepherd's life, these two aspects of ideal manliness meet in the legendary image of the klephtic hero, a man who so refined his powers of courage and continence that he partly transcended the limitations of the material world. Bullets could not find their mark on Katsandonis. Shepherds in Zagori know the place where he leaped his horse a hundred paces across a chasm. Such heroes are both prepotent and efficient. Whatever the odds, these men always defeat their enemy, except in the final contest when only the pre-ordained moment of fate and the presence of Charon succeed in taking away life. The last struggle of the hero, although hopeless, is heroic, a final flourish of his essentially human worth in the face of fate. But, in the end, honour wins over death and the hero lives on in the songs that commemorate his fame.

577 Men and women, then, struggle to attain these ideal modes
562 of being and conduct. Where they fall too far short in the effort of identification honour is lost. As I have said earlier, honour and the two sex-linked values of manliness and shame, which are associated with it, are qualities that, in principle, the majority of families are presumed to possess. It is the natural birthright of most Sarakatsani to be manly and of their sisters
577 to have shame. Therefore, in the sense that τιμή is used by the
578 Sarakatsani, it is difficult to talk of competition to win more honour than another man or another family. Honour is something which most families are presumed to have, but which they may very easily lose if they do not guard it with all their resources of courage and self-discipline. There is, rather, a constant struggle to maintain an ideal state of equality in honour between most individuals and families. And since the downfall of one family validates and in some sense improves the status of other families, men attempt by every means of allusive gossip and criticism of conduct to deny each other their pretensions to honour.

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779 repeated phrases of the liturgy are intelligible to them. Yet, although the Sarakatsani are not oppressed by any complexities of religious belief, they have deep faith, and a simple but relatively clear, if sometimes unorthodox, conception of God the Father, Christ the Son, the All Holy Mother of God, and the Saints; the divine archetype family, and those transfigured human beings who through the self-discipline and sanctity of their lives are the appropriate models for the guidance of weaker men, and the natural intercessors between them and God.

776 I have met no Sarakatsanos who doubts the existence of God. Such a question seems to them unintelligent. A man takes out his watch and asks, 'Somebody made this watch, is it possible that nobody made the world?' God is the creator of the universe and all things in it. And since this is so, anything which is not explicable in terms of simple physical causation tends to be referred to Him: or in the case of evil phenomena to the Devil. He exists in and beyond the boundless space of the sky. He does not descend to earth, yet from on high He is able to see and hear the acts and words of men as well as to know their unspoken intentions. Sarakatsani do not limit their image of God by precise physical definition, He is a 'certain power' (κάποια δύναμη), who is nevertheless personal, concerned with the acts of man, and capable, on a spiritual plane, of the emotions of anger and love.

God has an absolute power to impose His will. God's omnipotence and his own complementary dependence is the simple model of the shepherd's relationship to God. A Sarakatsanos says, 'All our work is with God' (ὅλη ἡ δουλειά μας εἶναι μὲ τὸν Θεό). From God derives life itself. He gives or withholds children from a man, He sends the rain for the essential grass. 773 The sheep itself is in a peculiar sense God's animal, a 'sacred 825 thing' (ἱερὸ πρᾶμα). A Sarakatsan folk myth tells how God 776 was with the All Holy One in a cave when she was bearing Christ. He came out of the cave to find fire, and seeing a flock of sheep and their shepherd He passed silently through, without frightening them or rousing the dogs, approached the shepherd's fire and took a burning ember. As He retraced His steps He blessed the sheep that they should be His own for all time.

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We have already seen that the Sarakatsan notion of ancestral sin releases the individual from any considerable personal sense of guilt. The idea of fate is used, but with less success, to release a man from the shame that accompanies certain kinds of failure. In the struggle for social prestige men must have self-regard and supreme confidence in themselves. They must believe that in any situation they will be omnicompetent to meet and defeat their rivals. The one fear of failure is the intervention of the external event, the disease which decimates the flock, the sterility of a wife. In almost every prayer, however short, a Sarakatsanos prays for 'good luck'. And when misfortune strikes, a man's helplessness before 'what has been written' is used to soften the sense of failure both in the presentation of events to outsiders and to himself. The element of external necessity, the restriction of absolute free will, and therefore the idea of fate, were introduced into the world through ancestral sin. By his claim that this kind of sin, or failure, is exterior to his individual will the Sarakatsan attempts to defend and assert his nobility and strength.

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2. THE DEVIL

Over against God stands the Devil, the agent and first cause of evil. Most Sarakatsani are aware of his angelic origin and his rebellion against God, the consequence of which was expulsion from Heaven. Evil, they think, entered the universe through the contrary will of the Devil, and particularly in the form of envy. When God flings a thunderbolt to earth it passes 40 fathoms into the earth. After 40 days it reappears on the surface. It lies there for a moment, a splendour of gold, only to be claimed at once by the Devil who in his envy and fury urinates on the sacred weapon, turning it black and useless. The sin of the Devil was anterior to that of Adam: already in the form of the tempting serpent he led the first man to his Fall. He knows that he cannot dethrone God, but in his envy he attempts to destroy creation from within by turning human freedom towards evil. His work is always to turn away human souls from their natural path to God. The created world is not evil but the Devil has corrupted it with the infection of his evil. 'The Devil has the earth, God the Heavens', the shepherds often say.

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776 784 a bag of salt for a pillow, an apotropaic substance of the greatest value. By keeping his head on this pillow and refusing to speak he passed the night in safety. In any appearance of the Devil the essential precaution is to remain absolutely silent whatever the provocation or enticement. Once a man has entered into communion with him through speech he cannot resist his will. The least consequence, then, is the loss of speech; but more probably the shepherd is led to his death over the edge of a precipice. These apparitions of the Devil are relatively common and most shepherds claim to have had at least one experience of this terrifying kind.

776 751 Fortunately God has provided the Sarakatsani with a variety of prophylactic means to resist most forms of demonic assault. Some of these are magic substances with apotropaic power, others are symbolic objects, words, or rituals, through which the grace of God confronts and defeats the power of evil. The Devil [289] cannot approach salt or pass through fire. The exorcisms of St. Basil the Great and St. John Chrysostom are read by the priest over possessed persons or animals. Thornbush, a cross of box-wood, incense, are powerful repellants. The red egg that is dyed on the Thursday of Holy Week, or the head of a viper that has been sanctified at forty liturgies in church, is buried in the sheep-fold to protect the animals. A powerful protection for a woman who is approached by the ladies of good fortune is a black-handled knife, particularly when formed as a cross with its scabbard. A shot from a pistol or rifle when fired with the left hand dismisses any apparition. In one instance a child's phylactery contained the dried blood of a priest shot by [288] Communists. But perhaps the most efficient protection, in an armoury which this miscellany does not exhaust, is simply the sign of the cross and the silent repetition of the thought, 'I see Christ, I see Christ, I see Christ'.

● 773 The Sarakatsani tell how the Devil hid himself in the Ark of Noah and, when the waters rose, made a hole in the side to sink it. But Noah, warned by God, ordered the snake to block 776 the opening with its head. The Devil knows that he cannot 791 accomplish the external destruction of the world, but he is not convinced that he cannot destroy the relationship between God and man by corrupting it from within. For the salvation of this relationship depends, in part at least, on the desire of

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[For a theoretical discussion of the inter-relationship of myth and knowledge, see Category 121 (or Category 116, pp. 416-423).]

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789 114 miraculous cures--what one might call the "current mythology" of magic. Thus, every practitioner finds support in tradition, in his connection with his predecessors, etc. (p. 83).

This last assertion gives Malinowski the opportunity to launch into a discussion of myth and its relationships to magic. But in order to examine this point we shall turn to his second essay (114) where his ideas

114. Translated into French in Moeurs et coutumes, pp. 97-154. The quotations that follow are taken from this translation. /those in the translation are from the original, however./

are developed more fully.

789 793 114 Malinowski maintains that "myth endows the performance of magic with worth and validity, in which myth blends with the belief in magical efficacy" (p. 146 /p. 141-2 Anchor Book edition/). How then does it act? "But once we have realized that myth serves principally to establish a sociological character, or a retrospective (115)

115. Our italics.

rural pattern of behavior, or the primeval supreme miracle of magic - it becomes clear that elements both of explanation and of interest in nature must be found in sacred legends. For a precedent accounts for subsequent cases, though it does so through an order of ideas entirely different from scientific relations of cause and effect, of motive and consequence" (pp. 149-150 /p. 144, Anchor Book edition/). This in not all. "Myth, as a statement of primeval reality which still lives in present-day life and as a justification by precedent, supplies a retrospective pattern of moral values, sociological order and magical belief...The function of myth briefly, is to strengthen tradition and endow it /311/ with greater value and prestige by tracing it back to a higher, better, a more supernatural reality of initial events" (pp. 151-152/p. 146 Anchor Book edition/).

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789 There is therefore not a shadow of doubt that for Malinowski myth
● 793 is an account formulated after the event, an idealization of a situation,
114 a means of justification which, while referring to the past, insures the present and the future. Contrary to attempts made before him, to which he refers (p. 111), he does not agree that myth can represent an attempt at knowledge and explanation of the world. "These stories /live/, "he says, "not by idle interest, not as fictitious or even as true narratives...(p. 111 /p. 108 Anchor Ed./). Nor are the stories about 'the origins of rites and customs' told in mere explanation of them...they always state a precedent..." (p. 113/p. 110 Anchor Ed./).

789 This established, it is time we ask what separates us from the theory
114 of Malinowski, what reasons prevent us from accepting it. First of all, because it reduces the creation of rites to a psycho-physiological automatism and the belief in their efficacy to a matter of selective memory. We do not say that these ideas are erroneous. The facts to which they refer may readily find a place in our explanation of the process by which Sarakatsani magical ideas are formed as well as in the explanation of the belief in the efficacy of magic. However, these two processes are much broader and they presuppose acts, mental states and social dynamics far richer in scope than those proposed by Malinowski.

In the second place, we find that the "current mythology" of magic, which basically corresponds to our social myth about the efficacy of magic, supports not only the accepted competence of the magician, but likewise every magical rite. Furthermore, Malinowski's description of the development of "current mythology" proves incomplete if compared to ours.

789 Finally, we cannot agree that myth is not an explanation of the world
793 and that it is created after the fact. It is not an explanation if con-
114 fronted with scientific explanations founded on the conceptualization of

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789 reality. But it is one if we recognize that it is based on, and
973 formulated in, a language of imagery. /312/ Between these two types
114 of explanation there is a difference in method, but there is none in the goal to be reached. We shall postpone proof of it until we come to our analysis of myth. For us, the cosmological myth exists before magic. (116)

116. We should like to recall in this connection the statement by Durkheim: De la définition du phénomène religieux, p. 22: "One cannot have rite without myth." It is what inspires Sarakatsani magic, its reason for existing, its point of departure.

789 In short, if Malinowski comes to the conclusions we have pointed out,
114 he does so under the pressure of his functionalism, his constant concern to find "what its good for"--which prevents him from getting at the core of what is, in the last analysis, mythical thought and hence magic.

The theory of M. Mauss, formulated in collaboration with H. Hubert in their study Esquisse d'une théorie générale de la magie, explains magic as emotion and collective forces. "Magic judgments are almost perfect synthetic a priori judgments," he says. "One links together the elements before every kind of experiment..." (p. 117). Magical judgements are not analytical because the magician "always introduces a heterogeneous term, irreducible to its logical analysis: force, power, physis or mana. The notion of magical efficacy is always present and it is that which... plays the role of the verb in the proposition" (p. 116). And the magical judgments are a priori because they are "anterior to magical experiments" (p. 117). Yet, because the very ideas of mana which confers on magic its [798] efficacy is also an a priori idea, "it functions like a category, it makes possible the magical ideas, just as categories make possible human ideas" (p. 111).

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789 from his known concern for precision. With regard to public opinion,
114 our comments are more or less the same. Opinions are probable beliefs, whereas the belief in magic is a strong, firm, unshakable belief leading to acts that are sometimes painful and arduous; simple opinion would never be in a position to motivate them. Finally, states of collective exaltation are not frequent and do not pertain to all magic. Among the Sarakatsani, specifically, perhaps excepting the dance of Pure Monday, it does not arouse and do not seems to be prompted by states of collective exaltation.

789 On the other hand, if we take the perspective of the myth, we see
773 immediately that the latter is in a position to impose itself without
114 asking the consent of anyone, that it inspires belief by its very nature,
778 that it covers at the same time with the same effectiveness and the same effects, instances of exaltation or of simple collective emotions. Likewise, myth enables us to cope with the thorny problem of mana which becomes particularly acute when we try to explain the Sarakatsani kind of magic in which we have found nothing even remotely suggesting the existence of mana. One of two things /is true/: either this is magic without "mana" and one must seek elsewhere to justify it; or it is magic in which mana has been forgotten, and one must then find the entity that has replaced it. On this last point we might propose that it is tradition or inertia which, in the absence of mana, continue to sustain magic. But the critical mind of man /316/ would not be satisfied with the authority of tradition; and social inertia is a convenient expression that obscures the problem and is incompatible with reality. What is called inertia is only a dynamic equilibrium of society. If we now introduce myth in the analysis of these phenomena, we can understand that the notion of mana is not indispensable to magic, since myth, by definition, is "an extremely efficient agent in magic judgment," to use the language of Mauss. Myth can create magic by itself and replace the forgotten mana. And, what is

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more, mana as such needs myth to create belief in it. We venture to believe that this last point fills a gap which neither emotion, nor need, nor hope, nor illusion are in a position to fill. Magic is not a disposition of mind or the soul. It is a cultural product, crystallized, objectified, permanent, which, created once and for all, thereafter leads an autonomous life with respect to the motivations, mental states and methods that lie at its origins. Thus it needs a stable source of support other than the precarious situations that have given it birth. It is the same with other products of the mind, knowledge which is based on truth, art on beauty, morality on goodness, etc. etc. For magic, this source of support is myth. Nevertheless, we would be unjust to the great scholar and orignator of ideas that M. Mauss was if we did not metion that, well after his theory, he himself, in a statement included in the Bulletin de l'Institut Français de Sociologie of 9 June 1933, made the following remark: "The great effort that we made in the study of ritual lacks balance because we did not make a corresponding effort for mythology." (117)

117. Quoted in M. Leenhardt: Do Kamo, p. 9

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There remains for us to consider one of the last great theories elucidating magic thought, that of L. Lévy-Bruhl. His main idea was the princple of participation, based on the specific mentality of primitives.

According to this author's Carnets posthumes to which we refer because this text represents the final stage in the evolution of his thinking, participation "is a consubstantiality, a communion, a very identity (identity-duality) between /317/ beings and objects. This intimate relation, so characteristic, between these beings and these objects is not generally represented. It is felt; but the objects themselves are represented" (p. 138). Always, according to him, participation is marked "by participation = essential community," identity felt between what participates and what is "participated in" (p. 141), and by

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796 128 the ideas implied in the celebration of these festivals.

Observation shows that the postulates and procedures that make 796 possible the magic action, as well as the guiding ideas of their 789 application are present in the celebration of the festivals we have 182 studied. We find here transmissibility, the blessing of the objects contained in the bag of Maundy Thursday and consequently the blessing of production; the opposition of forces (wax candles, salt, incense blessed, which averts evil); purification (sprinkling), representation (the ritual of Saint Lazarus). However, we cannot find here the postulate that forces will not destroy themselves, nor removal, since the religious forces that are involved in the festivals examined are neither destructive nor malicious and there is thus no need to protect oneself from them by acts based on these two postulates. The evocation of forces by magic and by religion are carried out on the same basis (fundamental problems, forces and obscure influences). Contact between man and beast and these forces is established either by mediated contact (symbols) or by representation (concrete example, festival of Saint Lazarus). Hence the principle of homogeneity is likewise found here.

796 811 As a result, the thinking which, in the final analysis, determines the festivals examined, proves identical with that which determines the magical practices relating to the problems cited above.

771 811 177 This similarity is not surprising, for it is basically a question of the same kind of phenomena. Before the Hellenes were Christianized, everything that we have called "myths from which magic drew its inspiration" was part [773] of an earlier religion. Since the objective conditions (state of knowledge, [789] progress of technology necessity of solving vital problems, etc.) were the same when Christianity was introduced, the part of the new religion called upon to intervene in /331/ the solution of the same problems was interpreted and applied according to the same mental process. Thanks to

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19. See Ibid., A. I., p. ϕξσ'.

the first in connection with marriage, the second in connection with burial, state the contrary, we were able to confirm that no conjugal union is contracted on the mere /344/ decision of the Tséligas and without a religious service, and that no burial takes place outside cemeteries. The priest is furthermore called upon to perform his ministrations at the time of the seasonal migrations, before departure, so that "the way is opened" and also in connection with the building of a new konakia. On these occasions he performs the service of "the holy water," according to the Orthodox rite.

But the phenomenon which shows best of all the intensity of Sarakatsani religiosity can be observed when someone dies without the aid of the last sacraments. For fear that the deceased will face the Supreme Judge without having fulfilled the last duty of a Christian, Sarakatsani society prescribes that in a corner of the hut a glass of wine be placed which is kept for three days, in order to permit the deceased's soul to come and partake of communion! In this practice, religion and the omni-functionalism of Sarakatsani society meet, as we have seen it do above and in connection with the practice of lamentations for the Lord.

To all this is added a myth reported by C. Hoeg which shows the pride of the Sarakatsani "in belonging to the true religion." "At the time we first came into being," our herders relate, "God asked us whether we preferred money, beauty or Christianity. We chose Christianity, the Jews money and the Turks beauty."

Nevertheless, in our observation of Sarakatsani life other facts seem to contradict these assertions. By their own confession, no Sarakatsani was ever ordained a priest. This statement was repeated to us by all the groups studied and was spoken with an air of pride and malice! Then again, their folklore is very rich in tales and anecdotes satirizing the clergy. By way of example we briefly reproduce the following:

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811 Control over nature, handling of men, these are the two principal poles around which Sarakatsani knowledge revolves, always oriented toward practical ends.

Knowledge of the world and the human condition, within the limits of the visible and the invisible, these are the poles of attraction in Sarakatsani mythical thinking, likewise oriented toward the solution of practical problems.

811 159 The study of their magic and their religion has sufficiently prepared us to understand that the Sarakatsani is not an intellectual, a metaphysician, or quite simply an inquisitive person. His cognitive approach is always motivated by the problems of daily life. The disinterested contemplative attitude is foreign to him.

811 993 Furthermore, this attitude has enabled us to see that once the Sarakatsani has reached the limits of his knowledge, he resorts to myth whenever he wishes to go further.

Thus, knowledge and myth are on a par. That is the reason we have classified their examination under the same heading.

128 The outline of this chapter will include considerations of knowledge, myth, and the manner in which they are transmitted, hence of education and the communication of knowledge.

SARAKATSANI KNOWLEDGE AND ITS LIMITS

811 Sarakatsani knowledge, the totality of "mental acts in which immediate and mediated experience is combined in different degrees, and the judgments and acts affirming the validity of /350/ the truth about something," according to the definition of G. Gurvitch, (1)

1. See G. Gurvitch: Sociologie de la connaissance in Traité, vol. II, p. 121 f.

is already familiar to us. We have found it incorporated in their technology, in their socio-economic organization, their law, their morality

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Peace	War
Attraction	Antipathy (repugnance)
Luck	Ill luck
Lucky days	Unlucky days

811 Another example may be given by dividing the world into those which can be influenced by that is tangible, as against parts based solely on the influence of creative forces. A third /example/ invites
(993) elements that can be included in a single category with reference to their operational symbolic significance based on myth. That is the case with the elements--symbols of fecundity, moon, earth, water, woman, snake, death, grain--united in the mother-goddess belief. Each magic theme or operation can furnish us a category of the same kind.

Next, comes a second category of classifications of a rational order corresponding to techniques, to herding, to material conditions of life, etc., in which logic, experience, causality predominate. The question that arises in connection with these /357/ is to know whether they do or do not favor the development of knowledge. Now, their nature inclines us to reply in the affirmative. But they present another aspect which prompts us to deny them this role. These classifications, built up in a pragmatic hence limited perspective, relate only to a limited number of phenomena. Considered as tools aimed at developing scientific knowledge, they are not sufficiently rich (7)

7. See analogous remarks in D. Essertier: Formes inférieures, pp. 144-145.

even to explain properly the phenomena they are concerned with. All the more are they therefore unsuited to explaining the world in general, or even to help in explaining it.

Having recognized the socio-cultural obstacles to knowledge, we are faced with a situation that we may define in the following manner: the Sarakatsani social framework does not favor the development of

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811 knowledge. Nor does the structure of their thinking. The latter is not independent of the framework. If the framework would favor knowledge, the Sarakatsani would be in a position to proceed to classifications of reality more adequate than those they possess, and even to replace myth and mythical classifications with knowledge [993] and rational classifications. For, it is necessary to recognize that myth represents a solution. It fills the gaps that knowledge leaves behind.

[993] Nevertheless, these last assertions seem to beg the question about the role of myth and the relations of myth to knowledge, which we have [128] accepted without verifying them. This is the task we shall now undertake.

MYTH AS A COMPLEMENT OF KNOWLEDGE

993 At first glance this heading may seem strange in view of the fact 998 that myth, seen from the outside, is merely an account found in "oral literature" (8) or in religion rather than in connection with means of

8. See C. Lévi-Strauss: Le Totémisme, p. 14, presenting tha various meanings of myth: "It is a category of our thinking that we use arbitrarily to assemble under the same term attempts to explain natural phenomena, works of oral literature, philosophical speculations and cases of the emergence of a linguistic process to the consciousness of the subject." --G. Sorel: Réflexions...Introduction, pp. 39-45 and G. Gurvitch: Ibid., p. 124, designate as myth the idea which certain social groups, social classes or global societies have of their situation; this idea calls into action and brings about a situation.

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See also Vol. XXXIII/62 of C.I.d.S., passim, dealing with myth.

cognition. /358/ In order to justify the heading we must analyze myth, look at it from the inside.

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121 Cosmological or anthropological myth is not all an imaginary or arbitrary tale, as is generally believed. It is a totality of statements expressed symbolically whose roots are buried in a profound vibration of the total man faced with the natural or human universe and endeavoring to discover the origins of the latter, its evolution, its inner working. (9)

9. See A. Jensen: Mythes et Cultes, p. 83, M. Leenhardt: Do Camo, p. 226, C. Lévi-Strauss: Anthropologie, pp. 228 and 225, R. Thurnwadt: L'esprit humain, p. 136.--On the symbolic form of myth, R. Bastide: Sociologie et Psychoanalyse, p. 281.

Reason plays only a partial role in this drama, and often after the event. Thus, myth constitutes an area where man and the universe meet. There results from it /the meeting/ a specific image of the world, the external form of the myth. (10)

10. M. Leenhardt: Ibid., p. 248, "myth is felt and experienced before being comprehended intellectually and formulated." We concur with this statement. That is why we have accepted mythic transmission in the magic of the Sarakatsani, despite the fact that they have forgotten mythology, at least in the form of a coherent account.

In order to form the statements of myth man does not proceed from concepts "but from perceptions /"percepts?/, images, events and fragments of

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000 the blaze of their grief, but this fire won't be extinguished."

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534 We should like to conclude this brief chapter with a description of the musical instruments of the Sarakatsani, which are simply variations of the flute. Our herders call them tzamara and tziradi. They either make them themselves or else they buy them commercially.

[804] The tzamara is a very long flute measuring 12 "palms" (approximately 90 centimeters--the Sarakatsani use the palm of the hand as a unit of measure), made of a hollow tube of wood, more rarely of metal, pierced with several holes upon which the fingers are set to vary the frequencies. There are seven of these holes. We shall call them "main holes" to distinguish them from the others. One of the two ends of the tube is used as the mouthpiece. On the other end there are three holes arranged in a triangle which are on a line with the main holes. At the height of the first main hole, but diametrically opposite, there is an orifice that /the player's/ close with the thumb; there is another opposite the hole which forms the summit of the triangle. This last one is called "the devil's hole" because it is the "devil who conceived it," while the one stopped with the thumb is "the work of Jesus Christ." This [793] in accordance with a Sarakatsani legend that says the first tzanara was made during the resurrection of Christ. And the devil, vexed, tried to damage it by /373/ /Figure 108 appears here/ /374/ piercing it at the place we have just indicated. However, thanks to the intervention of Christ who pierced it higher up, the sound of the instrument became better and the devil burst with fury.

[533] [516] The sound of the tzarmara is soft and deep. The musician must play seated because of the length of the instrument (fig. 108) which is also called floyera, a common name in Greece for all shepherd flutes.

/Figure 109 appears here/

/389 cont./

000 182 561 the worst weather. We understand, too, the precedence of the elders over the younger ones--on the basis of their fund of experience; they are guardians of secrets that enable them successfully to face

182 596 114 197 critical moments. However, we cannot agree that the Sarakatsani invented the extended quasi-patriarchal family. It has been known to Greek tradition and Christianity for a long time. That is where, from all evidence, the Sarakatsani borrowed the model of it.

182 476 233 Cooperation and the suppression of individualism will be examined first from the aspect of the economic system. The points that we developed in the preceding make very clear the undeniable fact that cooperation is the most effective condition for the solution of the economic problems of our herders. We fail to see how livestock raising carried out under the conditions mentioned could make room for individualism. The individual would have no chance of survival if left to his own resources, and the antagonisms inherent in individualism would be catastrophic in the context in question. Consequently, this conviction having been established and put into practice, every subsequent individualistic manifestation would have to be forbidden in order not to endanger the lives of all. On the other hand, herding as a technology demands the cooperation that kinship as an intimate inter-human bond encourages in its turn.

182 621 476 [181] --Community and solidarity are the expression, on the strictly social plane, of the idea of cooperation and the suppression of individualism. They are compulsory for the same reasons that have imposed the principle of kinship. They likewise constitute high social and moral values.

182 773 --Cosmology and anthropology, founded on the ancient myths of the Mother-Goddess, find justification for their survival among the Sarakatsani in the fact that Sarakatsani knowledge is limited and the myths supplement it."

/389 cont./ The myths
182 permit the Sarakatsani to place themselves in relation to the world
703 and /390/ within the world and to develop a curative magic protective
[789] of men, animals and life. If Sarakatsani knowledge has scarcely developed it is because the conditions of their life does not permit it.
[171] And it is the Greek cultural tradition which intervenes and gives the Sarakatsani the myths in question. Moreover, these myths are alive almost everywhere, in numerous spheres of Greek society.

182 --Finally, their religion, made up of a syncretism between
791 Christianity and the mythology of the Mother-Goddess and differing from the official religion, owes its existence to the fact that the latter is not concerned with problems of curing. Sarakatsani knowledge has no solution to these so, the way is open to the introduction of a syncretism that is favored, moreover, by tradition.

182 This brief confrontation having been made, we should like to make
121 a comment the principal ideas governing Sarakatsani life are extremely coherent when we examine them all together. They support one another and form a harmonious whole. More than that. It is impossible to conceive of any of them without at the same time taking into account all the others.

Likewise, one cannot imagine the ideas without the conditions, the conditions without the concerns, the concerns without the conditions and inversely.

Ideas, conditions, concerns are intimately, even dialectically linked together.

It is exactly through this deep interrelationship of all the categories of elements in question that a synthesis is realized. Everything converges toward everything, constituting a solid chain each link of which, inextricably bound to all the others, involves concerns,